

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

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## PROGRESS OF PRINCIPLE.

It is very common to hear people say, 'Slavery is a great evil, but we can do nothing to remedy it.' If all the world were of the same opinion, the curse would probably be handed down with undiminished strength to the remotest generations. Slavery exists only because it is tolerated by public opinion. When the great majority of the Christian world shall boldly proclaim that the system is iniquitous, it must cease. The consciences of slaveholders are seared, because too many of those who do not hold slaves appear to countenance oppression either by silence or apologies.

The standards of morals in the different parts of a nation like ours which have a constant and familiar intercourse with one another, are constantly assimilating. While the people of the North are content to adopt the feelings and cant of the South upon the subject of slavery, no improvement is to be expected in either quarter. But this ought not to be the case. The inhabitants of the non-slaveholding States are more favorably situated than those of the slave States for forming an unbiassed estimate of the moral qualities of slavery. Those who have formed opinions on the subject, ought to express them openly and boldly. Thousands among us have come to just conclusions on the subject, and yet refrain from avowing them, because they see that the men whom they are accustomed to follow are not ready to take the lead.

This state of things cannot continue long. The people are beginning to think on the subject of slavery: and the 'shadows of coming events' which must produce its dissolution are even now visible.

It may be encouraging to many who have been accustomed to dwell on the miseries of slavery, to consider for a moment the prognostics from which we augur the termination of the system at no distant day.

Slavery has already been abolished in Hayti, Mexico, Colombia, and twelve States of this nation.

The change of opinion in Great Britain and this country in regard to slavery, within the last fifteen or twenty years, has been wonderful. After the slave trade was abolished, the enemies of slavery gazed on the system almost in despair, as the knight in old romances is represented as gazing on some castle made apparently impregnable by enchantment. They knew not how to attack the institution with any prospect of success. Their opinions as to the mode of removing the evil were wavering and unsatisfactory, even to themselves. But a few years ago, many of the most devoted philanthropists thought only of a remote and gradual abolition.

Now every thing is changed. The numbers in favor of abolition in England are now overwhelming. Far the greater part of them support immediate abolition. The whole system of slavery has been surveyed, and specific remedies pointed out for every evil.

This change in opinion has already produced most beneficial results. In some of the British Colonies, the flogging of females is entirely prohibited, and the flogging of men in some degree regulated; in some, the free people of color are admitted to equal privileges with the whites; in some, slaves are admitted as witnesses in all cases like whites; and in some, the separation of near relations in private or judicial sales is prohibited. The most important improvements are in the crown colonies. Besides this, all the slaves belonging to the crown, amounting to a considerable number, have been made free.

It cannot be doubted by any one who has noted the progress of opinion in Great Britain, *that a law for abolishing slavery in the colonies of the empire, will be passed within a few years.*

Though the people of the United States have not yet denounced slavery so loudly as those of Great Britain, yet while the mother country has moved forward so rapidly, the daughter has not been stationary.

Several publications devoted to the abolition of slavery are already established in this

country; and within a year or two, a large number of others have boldly attacked the system.

Several anti-slavery societies have been established within two years in various parts of the States.

The doctrine of *gradual* emancipation is falling into disrepute. A hundred persons are now in favor of *immediate* abolition for every one who supported it three years ago.

Slavery has been more discussed within the last three years in print and conversation, than it had been during twenty years before.

Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky have lately exhibited a strong desire to obtain relief from the disease under which they are declining. Few of their politicians have come to sound conclusions on the subject. But the subject having been once touched, the people of those States will never rest till no slave is to be found upon their soil.

[For the Abolitionist.]

#### THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDER.

I was born on one of those remote Islands in the Pacific ocean, which had escaped the observation of the most adventurous voyagers; and though it was endeared to me, by many agreeable associations, yet I could not but perceive that the clouds of ignorance rested upon it, and that it was disgraced by the practice of many vices; for I felt myself to be one of that small number, of which I believe no spot of the earth is entirely destitute, who aspire to something better, to whom the religion of nature is not totally unknown, and who discover glimpses of a Deity through the objects of beauty and grandeur which surround them. This, at least, was my case; for whether I took up and examined the flower which grew at my feet, or surveyed the majestic river or lofty mountain, or above all the wonders of my own frame, each and all proclaimed an intelligent author. Many hours were spent every day in musing upon this subject, and in endeavoring to give consistency and form to my crude ideas.

I was one day roused from an unusually deep revery, by being told that the body of a man had been cast upon our coast, whose appearance was altogether different from any ever before seen. I hastened to the spot, hoping by timely aid to restore its animation; and after long and continued exertion, my hopes were realized. The pleasure which I experienced on this occasion, can be more easily imagined than described. Never, indeed, was exertion more amply rewarded; for I found in this fellow being a friend, an instructor, a guide. We soon became almost inseparable companions, and spent much of

our time in strolling about the surrounding country, *he* in the hope that from some eminence which gave a view of the sea he might espy some vessel by which he might return to his native country—and I, ever eager to catch the wisdom which fell from his lips, seldom quitted his side. I had lost no time in acquiring a knowledge of his language, such was my zeal to learn every thing he could communicate. He scarcely spoke, but some new idea beamed upon my mind. From him I learned that one God made and governs all things—that in addition to that which may be learnt of him through his works, he had made repeated revelations of his character and will; but more especially by a being of such pre-eminence, that he styled him his beloved Son.

One day I asked him to tell me what was the most prominent precept of his religion? 'Love, love,' said he, with energy. 'God is love—he sent his Son into the world on an errand of love—and he has commanded us to love him with all our hearts, and our neighbor as ourselves.' I was charmed with these sentiments, and resolved that, should my new friend ever leave our island, I would accompany him to his favored home.

It was not long before this resolution was put to the test; for a sort of moving house, or what Philo (which was the stranger's name) called a ship, was discovered by his anxious and ever watchful eye; by the aid of signals we succeeded in arresting the attention of those on board. I now mentioned the plan I had formed of leaving my native island. Philo was surprised, but said nothing to discourage me; 'but I advise you,' said he, 'to go well provided with gold, for I can assure you, you will find it a useful possession where you are going.' With this I readily complied, for it was easily procured, though it had hitherto been useless to me. Philo was overjoyed to find that the vessel was bound to the very spot most dear to him of all the earth, his own native city. We were soon in readiness; and I took an affectionate leave of my friends, not without the fear that I should never again behold them.

We now hastened on board the vessel, which soon bore us far away on the wide ocean. I was introduced to so new a scene, that it was long before my curiosity was satisfied. After some time, I observed that the sailors did not look upon me with much complacency, and paid little attention to my wants, till my friend, who also observed it, whispered something in their ears, which seemed to operate as a charm—for ever after, respect and kindness took the place of coldness and neglect.

Philo soon brought me one of those sacred books, called the word of God, from whence he had obtained that religious knowledge which he had communicated to me. With his assistance, I was soon enabled to read it with tolerable ease. Oh! how can I express

the pleasure I took in tracing, with my own eyes the words of heavenly wisdom which flowed from him, whom I now delighted to call my Savior! The precepts, of which my friend had given me a few examples, filled me with fresh admiration—and the parables were peculiarly to my taste. How beautifully did that of the good Samaritan illustrate the duty of love to our neighbor—by giving a latitude to the word neighbor which we are too apt to forget belongs to it, and teaching that benevolence should be extended to the whole human race, without regard to any peculiarity in their condition. The story of the rich man and Lazarus was likewise strikingly in harmony with the sentiment he expressed, when, lifting up his eyes upon the multitude, he said, 'Blessed are ye *poor*, for yours is the kingdom of heaven.' I did not allow a day to pass, without spending several hours in studying this precious volume, so anxious was I to imbibe in some measure the spirit of their religion, before arriving in a land of Christians.

After a very prosperous voyage, we reached the home of Philo. He was hailed with rapture by his friends, whom I found good and intelligent like himself, and no other recommendation to their favor was necessary than to be introduced as a stranger who had left his native country in the pursuit of knowledge. But to some others, I found my friend was obliged to whisper the talismanic words which had before wrought such a miracle in my behalf. It now produced the same effect, and I determined to be more observing in future, that I might discover what was the nature of this wonder-working spell. It was not long before an opportunity offered. We happened to fall in company which seemed disposed to treat me with neglect, if not with contempt; and seeing him about to pronounce those mysterious words, I listened attentively, and they were these—'He is very rich.' This is strange indeed, thought I: of what possible consequence can it be to *them*, whether I possess treasure or not? and what possible effect can it have upon *me*? Does it increase my understanding? lessen my ignorance? or give me beauty of person? This it certainly cannot do: perhaps they want my gold, and think by a little flattery to obtain it. No, it cannot be *that*—because some of these very people with whom I acquire so much consequence by being rich, seem to be in no want of wealth themselves—therefore they can want nothing of me. It puzzled me exceedingly, because it seemed so opposed to the precepts of their religion. I had even thought, at first, of concealing my wealth; for judging from the bible, I had supposed that riches would be despised, and poverty rather sought than spurned—but, on the contrary, there scarcely was any possession more coveted—so much so, that even those who were in reality poor, often affected riches, either by a fine house, elegant furniture, or

costly dress. I cannot but here mention one custom in use among the females of this country, because it so agreeably reminded me of my own dear country-women: it is that of suspending jewels in the ear by means of a perforation of the fleshy part of its lower extremity. Still, though it pleased me, I confess it no less surprised me; for I had read in their sacred book that the best ornament to a female was a meek and quiet spirit, which in the sight of God was of great price.

But I had still another subject of surprise, when I found the houses devoted to the worship of this *same being*, were often a scene of the most brilliant display of finery. Indeed, I sometimes heard little children of six years old disputing about the comparative beauty or fashion of their church-going dresses. However, these things, though evidently at variance with the bible, I thought might be pardonable: but as my intercourse with society increased, I saw many things practised which excited my grief and astonishment; such as fraud, cruelty, falsehood, intemperance, and many other vices. At length, I unburdened my heart to my friend, and entreated him to explain what I saw. 'Oh!' said he, 'I am not at all surprised at the feeling you express; but I know you must soon learn that though Christianity is the religion here professed, which you know to be a system replete with excellence, yet many, very many fall lamentably short of its requirements, and there are not a few who, I fear, reject its restraints altogether. But, come,' continued he, 'I want to introduce you to my sister, whose return you know I have been so impatiently expecting. Yesterday, I had the pleasure of again seeing my dear Ellen: she has been absent more than a year on a visit to a friend in a distant part of our country.' I accepted his invitation, and was introduced accordingly. I found her amiable and enlightened, like her brother. She entertained us with accounts of the delightful climate, scenery, and the almost tropical luxuriance of the part of the country she had visited; and we passed many pleasant, and to me instructive hours together.

On one occasion when my friend and I entered the room where his mother and sister were sitting, we found them looking very melancholy. Philo, with some concern, inquired the cause.

'Oh,' replied his sister, 'I was only telling the story of poor Letty.'

'And is it that which has so much affected you?'

'Yes,' said his mother, 'I think no one could hear it unmoved.'

'And will you not,' said I to Ellen, 'repeat the tale to us?'

She made no reply, but looked at her brother.

'Come,' said he, 'now you have excited our curiosity, you will surely not refuse to gratify it.'

'I had rather not, indeed—pray, brother, excuse me,' said Ellen.

Her brother inquired what could possibly be her objection?

'Because,' said she, 'I cannot bear the thought that your friend, who has already seen so much of the inconsistency of Christians, should be made acquainted with a system which makes every other deviation from the pure precepts of Christianity shrink into insignificance.'

'Alas!' said Philo, 'I now comprehend your motive, and do not wonder at your reluctance: but as our friend cannot long remain among us without hearing of some of its baneful effects, any secrecy on our part would be unavailing. At any rate, he had better know the truth, however mortifying it may be to us.'

'Yes,' said I, 'I have no desire for the happiness of ignorance.'

'Well, then,' said Philo, 'it is the dreadful system of *Slavery* which exists over the greater part of this otherwise free and happy country, of which I have the sorrow to inform you.'

'Oh! I suppose,' said I, 'you still retain the barbarous custom, practised by uncivilized nations, of holding in bondage those of your enemies whom the chance of war has thrown into your hands.'

'Alas!' said my friend, 'though that is widely opposed to the peaceful spirit of Christianity, yet it falls very far short of the cruel injustice of which we are guilty. Know, then—for why should I attempt to hide our shame?—that in this nominally free country, a sixth part of the peaceful and unoffending natives wear the insupportable yoke of slavery—are kept in total ignorance of the word of God—driven to their labor by the whip, the fruits of which go to enrich their oppressors, while they are scantily fed, and coarsely clothed.'

'But,' said I, 'under what possible pretence can this be done? Do not those who practise it offer some excuse for conduct which would make a heathen blush?'

'The only excuse,' said he, 'they pretend, I believe, to offer, is, that as the ancestors of these people were either stolen from their native country, or purchased perhaps for a few glass beads, or some intoxicating liquor, of some barbarous chief, and thus converted to slaves, all their descendants must share the same fate.'

'A strange reason, indeed,' said I; 'it seems to be saying that a man born in misery may as well remain in it because he is accustomed to it. But is this their only plea?'

'None other than that of the tyrant's, that might gives right.'

'Ah! and is this the way that Christians obey the commands of Him whom they pretend to call their master? Is this loving their neighbor as themselves? or doing to others as they would that others should do to them?'

Philo, now again asked Ellen to tell us the story. 'I suppose,' said he, 'Letty was a slave.'

'Yes,' said she, 'Letty and George, a young married couple, were purchased by Dr. A. at whose house you know I passed most of my time during my absence. The woman was good tempered, obliging and gentle in her manners, and both capable and industrious. Her husband was not vicious, but he was very fond of *music*, and not very fond of *work*; of course, he preferred playing a tune upon his fiddle, to performing his allotted task. Mrs. A., however, liked Letty so much that they continued to keep them, though they did not exactly answer their purpose—till Dr. A., hearing of a neighboring planter who was in quest of two such slaves, concluded to hire them out to him. This was sad tidings to the young couple—for slaves always dread changing their masters.) Poor Letty was overwhelmed with sorrow, and entreated Dr. A., even upon her knees, not to send them away; but the *sighs* and *tears* of *slaves*, avail but little, as was the case on the present occasion; for though their grief excited some pity, yet, as the agreement had been made, there seemed no help for it, and they were obliged to go. But Dr. A. wishing to soothe their trouble a little, told George, that if either of them should be sick, to send for him. With this poor consolation, they departed. Several weeks passed away, when I was one day sitting in the parlor, engaged in conversation with a young lady, when she suddenly exclaimed, 'Who are those?' I turned my eyes towards the window, and saw Letty approaching the house, followed by a man on horseback. We ran out into the piazza to see what was the matter, when she shot by us like an arrow, and disappeared. It was the overseer of her present employer, who was with her: he said she had run away several days before—that he had found her in a wood, and wished to take her back—but she had insisted upon coming there. Just as he concluded, I perceived Letty, from behind the door, beckoned me with a wild and disordered air. I followed her—and in a hurried manner she led the way to my chamber, when she immediately ran and hid herself beneath the bed, and burst into an agony of grief, entreating me, as soon as her sobs would permit, to conceal her, and save her from returning to that dreadful place. 'I cannot, I cannot, go back!' she exclaimed: 'they have treated me cruelly when I tried to do every thing to please them. And poor George! they have had no mercy upon him: not satisfied with beating him, they have knocked out his front teeth, and—'

I begged of her to be more calm—for her agitation was such, that it was impossible to come at the cause of their having been treated with so much violence. However, she at length told me, that on one occasion she being

rather indisposed, George, in the simplicity of his heart, recollecting the direction of Dr. A. to send for him, if either of them were sick, and not dreaming of its occasioning any expense, (which certainly in this case was not intended by Dr. A.) took the enormous liberty of sending for the Dr. to see his wife. This was the unpardonable offence of which poor George had been guilty, and for which they had both suffered such severe consequences.

At this sad recital, I mingled my tears with hers—that she should suffer so innocently, was truly affecting; but what could I say to console her? To offer her any protection, was entirely out of my power. The most I could do was to prevail on Mrs. A. to let her remain with us a few weeks. She readily consented, for she was fond of Letty, and knew that she never required severity. Her gratitude was evinced by her cheerfully performing every duty; and, indeed, if possible, anticipating our wishes.

At the end of a fortnight, however, I had the pain of seeing her reclaimed by her relentless employer. I watched her slowly following him till she was out of sight. 'And this,' thought I, 'is one of my own countrywomen, possessing the same natural right to freedom that I have, forced to drag out a miserable existence, exposed to all the bitter effects of a state of slavery!'

(To be concluded.)

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS,  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE N. E. ANTI-SLAVERY  
SOCIETY, BY WM. J. SNELLING, ESQ.

(Continued.)

The master too is to be pitied. He lives in continual fear. Accustomed to see his humors watched and his frowns feared, he becomes imperious and tyrannical. His children grow up among the abject beings whom their fathers have degraded. They are idle and useless on the face of the earth. The daughters, at least a great many of them, are accustomed to view human suffering with indifference; even to chastise their female slaves with their own hands. But I will not dwell on such a state of society.

Those whose exertions are directed to the removal of these evils are called visionaries and fanatics. If to wish to relieve our countrymen from what they all allow to be an evil of the greatest magnitude, is to be a fanatic; if to wish to overthrow a system radically criminal, oppressive, impolitic and dangerous, is to be a fanatic; if to wish to elevate those who are now little above brutes to the dignity of freemen and christians, is to be a fanatic;—then, we are fanatics; and I, for one, glory in the title. If to believe that these things are practicable, is to be visionary, then we are visionaries. In what, even if our opinions be wrong, are we reprehensible? We wrong no

man—we stir up no one to sedition—we break no law. There is no law that forbids any free man to think, and to express his opinion. The Constitution of the United States, indeed, recognizes slavery; but our fathers, who framed it, never said or thought that it would be criminal to wish to amend it. If they had so thought, they would not have inserted a provision for its amendment.

It will, perhaps, be asked, how, since we disclaim violence and insurrection, we do propose to act? We answer, by endeavoring to affect public opinion. Prejudice and apathy stand in our way, but we do not nevertheless despair. We may not effect all we propose, but still we shall do something; for he, whose ambition is great, will never fail utterly. We publish pamphlets, we hold debates, we deliver discourses, and are sure that though we may fail to convince an individual, all whom we can bring to examine this subject and think for themselves, will eventually embrace our opinions. We hope in time, to direct the earnest attention of the nation to the system of slavery; and if we can do this, we are confident that it must go down. In the meanwhile, we persuade such persons of color as are within our influence, to live christian lives, to continue or become respectable citizens, as the case may be, to teach their children trades, and to send them to school. We aid them to put these counsels into practice, as far as our means will permit.

There are many among us who hold that we should not take any measures concerning the abolition of slavery, lest we should offend and irritate our southern brethren. But admit this principle, and there is an end of all reform and improvement. On the same ground, we may suffer a single State to reverse the law of the land, and the decision of the Supreme Court, without comment. We must not mention the tariff, or express our wishes relative to the choice of the executive officer, on the same principle. I spurn such slavish doctrine. To embrace it, would be to surrender freedom of thought and speech. No subject of national importance can be mentioned, no abuse exposed, without offending some one. We shall offend our southern brethren. Our fathers offended their English brethren when they threw the tea into the dock, and irritated them still more when, within cannon-shot of this hall, they taught their fellow subjects, that Americans would not submit to wrong. We shall offend our southern brethren. I cannot excuse them for retaining two millions of their fellow men in galling and ignominious thralldom. It may be that very many of them are unconscious of wrong doing; but the wrong is not therefore the less evident, the less palpable. The muscles do not the less quiver, nor does the blood flow the less freely, because he who holds the scourge thinks he is doing a praiseworthy action. The tiger, when he springs

upon his victim is conscious of no crime; but his prey feels not the less agony. 'He who retains his fellow man in bondage is guilty of a wrong,' a grievous wrong—all the sophistry of the schools can make nothing else of it. If he does not know as much, we will tell him so; and if it offends him—even *let him be offended*.

Let us, in the midst of our fears of offending our brethren, inquire who are the persons best entitled to that affectionate appellation. Who felled the forest in the southern States? The blacks. Who subdued the soil, whose labor furnishes us with cotton and sugar, and enables those States to bear up under the 'accursed tariff,' as it is emphatically called? Who have most reason to complain of us, and who do us most good? Who are the real working bees of the South, who are the authors of all the good we thence derive? Above all, who are best entitled to claim our sympathies?—The blacks—the blacks—the blacks. By consenting to, and approving their bondage, we have injured them, and we owe them reparation. By setting them free, we should injure their masters to the exact amount of their market value, considering them, as these last do, as mere merchantable cattle. At the same time we should do right, and prevent the misery of unborn millions. Why should we be less fearful of offending them than their masters? They are formed alike in their maker's image, they constitute almost the whole value and political importance of the slaveholding States, and they respect us, which their oppressors do not. If justice, humanity, and the dictates of common interest are of any consequence to a clear view of this question, the blacks are most emphatically our brethren.

It is advanced with great confidence by slaveholders, that were we to set the slaves free, they would turn upon the whites, and massacre them. They are, it is said, extremely ignorant and ferocious. Ignorant they are; but I do not believe that they are either ferocious or vindictive. My observation teaches me that the negro character is humble, mild and forgiving. Was it not so, could they be slaves now? Indeed, I have rather seen reason to think that want of spirit was the fault of their character. Those who argue that they cannot be set free with safety, confound cause and effect. Ask any advocate of slavery why the slaves revolted in Southampton, and he will tell you that it was in the hope of obtaining freedom. Ask him why he fears to meet a slave alone, and he will answer that it is because the man is a *slave*. They would fight, it is known, to obtain their liberty, and they would also fight, it is said, because it was given them. This is strange logic; and I pray you to observe that I am neither begging the question, nor setting up a man of straw to knock him down again. You know, every man who hears me knows, that the positions I

have assumed are those most frequently in the mouths of slaveholders. The slaves in Southampton massacred women and children, because they smarted under the sense of injury, and because they knew that had they spared these, they would have exercised the control of masters over them some day. Setting them free will take away the motive of revolt, and, I think, all desire of revenge. It is not in the nature of man to requite good with evil. Some there may be, who would return evil for good, but these are exceptions to the general rule—moral monsters, who are not to be taken for specimens of their kind; and, as I have not observed that the blacks are more vicious than equally ignorant whites, I do not believe that the black family would furnish more of these monsters than the white one. I say again, and it appears to me as plain as the light of heaven, that if you take away the motives to insurrection, no insurrection will take place.—Suppose that there is danger, that the desire of revenge will operate more strongly on the slave than the sense of benefit received, is there not danger now? Set them free, and the feeling of revenge will expire with the present generation. The next will have had no wrong to revenge. Keep them in bondage, and the danger will be perpetuated. We ought certainly to take care of ourselves, but we also owe something to posterity.

Again, some say that ignorance makes the blacks ferocious. Others, and among them their masters, judging from the acts of southern legislation, think that knowledge is the thing that makes them dangerous. Strange that ignorance and knowledge should have one and the same effect!

I have often been told that were the slaves set free, they would not know how to take care of themselves, but perish with literal want. If this supposition be true, it infers either some defect in the negro character, or that long years of slavery have withered their sinews and destroyed their mental energies. We do not learn from Denham and Clapper-ton, or any other traveller, that such a disaster has ever occurred among any free tribe of Africans. Our slaves at present maintain themselves, and others who are engaged in the time hallowed occupation of doing nothing all the year round, also. It will be strange if a man who has the strongest motive for exertion, to wit, his own benefit, cannot labor as diligently as he, the profit of whose toil goes to feed and enrich another. Let any slave-owner who holds this doctrine, and there are many who do, propose the risk to his bondsman. I think the slave will take his risk at starvation.

There are hundreds who fear the imaginary evils above mentioned, and therefore oppose an immediate emancipation of the slaves, who are yet willing to encourage a gradual abolition. Gradual abolition, forsooth! Fine

words, to quiet guilty consciences. Since I can remember any thing, and I am not a very young man, I have heard of gradual abolition. It is a sop to the Cerberus Conscience. I marvel that no uneasy thief has thought of a gradual repentance and retribution. What has gradual abolition done, and what will it ever do? Are the slaves an inch higher freedom now than they were fifty years ago? On the contrary, they are farther from it. The danger, if there was any, that would have resulted from it, has increased; the bonds of iniquity—I mean the restrictive laws—have been *gradually* drawn closer and closer around them. Are there fewer slaves now in the United States, than there were when gradual abolition was first devised? On the contrary, their number has doubled, as you all know. Gradual abolition is like intended repentance, it has been put off till the time for it has passed away. When I hear a man speak of gradual abolition, I at once conclude that he is a fool, a hypocrite, or that he has not studied the subject. Those two words have done the colored race more harm than all the speeches that ever were made in favor of slavery. We, that is the Society I have the honor to represent, say, tamper not with conscience. Obey the dictates of religion, duty and humanity. Shew mercy—do justice *now*—this very now, and leave the consequences to God. The worst that can happen cannot be more offensive to Him who is all mercy, or more dangerous to yourselves than the present state of things.

I have often been surprised to observe how small is the difference between the opinions of some gradual abolitionists and those of the advocates of immediate emancipation. They admit that slavery is wrong, that it is a national curse. They are willing to have the slave immediately exempted from the hardships peculiar to his condition, and from his liability to be bought and sold. Yet the words immediate emancipation frighten them. They imagine that we wish to admit the slaves immediately to our houses, our tables, to all the privileges of fellowship, and to an equality of political rights. We desire no such things. We wish only for what every man, whose moral sense has not been stifled by interest or prejudice, will admit to be right. When we call for immediate emancipation, we mean that no man ought to hold property in man, that no man ought to have the power to apply the lash to his brother. We say that no man should be sold, like a beast of burthen. We say that the safety and honor of woman should have some better guaranty than the doubtful virtue of an absolute master. We insist that every man should be permitted to learn and to worship the Author of his being in the way most agreeable to his conscience. We say that he who has ploughed and sowed, should reap and keep the harvest. These

things are what we understand by the words immediate abolition, and who will say that we ask any thing unreasonable? Is there any descendant of those who fled from Britain to enjoy liberty of conscience in the wilderness who will forbid the black to participate in that right? Will any inhabitant of industrious New-England rebuke us for affirming that the laborer is worthy of his hire? We ask only that our countrymen should give a practical illustration of their own privileges, as avowed in the first clause of the Declaration of Independence, viz. 'All men are born free and equal.'

Where would be the mighty evil of such an immediate emancipation as this? What harm did such an immediate emancipation do the patriarchs of New-England? Did their freedmen massacre them for their benevolence? Was there an individual attempt made at revenge for past injuries? Have the free blacks ever, in any degree, injured or retarded the march of our prosperity? I have often been told that after having thus been emancipated, the southern blacks will acquire property, become half owners of the soil, and have an equal voice in the government. What then? Every man has a right to acquire property. Every man, who is properly qualified by education and the payment of taxes, has a right to share in the management of his own affairs. The free blacks here have long been permitted to acquire property and to vote at the polls, and what white man considers himself injured thereby? These are rights which prejudice alone disputes—reason cannot.

But, say the enemies of emancipation, how are the whites to cultivate their lands, if deprived of their slaves? Their climate will not permit them to work. Then let them seek a milder climate, or accept a subsistence from their black brethren as alms, or starve. No precept is more just than this—'He that will not work, neither shall he eat.' How would the working men here receive a proposal to support all whom laziness or other causes have rendered incapable of labor? No, if a country be unfit for a portion of the inhabitants, they have no business there. They should seek another—not depend upon those of a better physical conformation. However, I do not believe that there is any good cause for fear on this head.

Another objection suggested by prejudice against emancipation is, that it would be followed by an amalgamation of the two parties of our southern brethren. I acknowledge that a very general prejudice acts strongly against the negro. Few of us are without it. Still it is but a prejudice. If a colored person has the manners, the education and the character of a gentleman and a christian, why should any christian gentleman feel offended at his approach? Yet I would not unnecessarily irritate even prejudice. When the



slaves shall have become free and shall have made themselves respectable, it will be at the option of every white to associate with them or not. No man will be compelled to associate or intermarry with them. Let the two races approximate toward an equality or not, the question has not the least bearing upon amalgamation. Set the blacks free, and they will amalgamate with us—keep them in bondage, and still they will amalgamate. Half the people of color now in the United States are of mixed blood. Amalgamation could not have proceeded faster, had the blacks been free since their first introduction into the country.

(To be continued.)

#### IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. No. IV.

The actual condition of the hundred thousand emancipated blacks and persons of color in the West India Colonies, certainly gives no reason to apprehend that if a general emancipation should take place, the newly freed slaves would not be able and willing to support themselves. On this point the Returns from fourteen of the Slave Colonies, laid before the House of Commons in 1826, give satisfactory information: they include a period of five years from January 1, 1821, to December 31, 1825, and give the following account of the state of pauperism in each of these Colonies.

*Bahamas.* The only establishment in the Colony for the relief of the poor appears to be a hospital or poor-house. The number passing through the hospital annually was, on the average, fifteen free black and colored persons and thirteen whites. The number of free black and colored persons is about double that of the whites; so that the proportion of white to that of colored paupers in the Bahamas, is nearly two to one.

*Barbadoes.* The average annual number of persons supported in the nine parishes, from which Returns have been sent, is 998, all of whom, with a single exception, are white. The probable amount of white persons in the island is 14,500—of free black and colored persons 4,500.

*Berbice.* The white population appears to amount to about 600, the free black and colored to 900. In 1822, it appears that there were 17 white and 2 colored paupers.

*Demerara.* The free black and colored population, it is supposed, are twice the number of the whites. The average number of white pensioners on the poor fund appears to be 51, that of colored pensioners 26. In occasional relief, the white paupers receive about three times as much as the colored.

*Dominica.* The white population is estimated at about 900; the free black and colored population was ascertained, in 1825, to amount to 3122. During the five years ending in November, 1825, thirty of the former class had

received relief from the poor fund, and only ten of the latter, making the proportion of more than nine white paupers to one colored one in the same number of persons.

*Grenada.* This colony contained in 1825, 3486 free black and colored persons, and it does not appear that any relief whatever has been given to them during the five years for which returns have been sent.

*Honduras.* The free black and colored population, in 1824, amounted to 1750. The return of the Treasurer of the Colony is, 'that there are no funds raised for the support of the poor, there being so very few persons who are literally in distress from poverty; but such as are so are readily relieved from the public funds. The number of free persons thus relieved has varied from 6 to 8 during the five years.

*Jamaica* is supposed to contain 20,000 whites, and double that number of free black and colored persons. The returns of paupers from the parishes which have sent returns exhibits the average number of white paupers to be 295, of black and colored paupers 148: the proportion of white paupers to those of the other class, according to the whole population, being as four to one.

*Nevis.* The white population is estimated at about 800, the free black and colored at about 1800. The number of white paupers receiving relief is stated to be 25; that of the other class 2; being in the proportion of 25 to 1.

*St. Christophers.* The average number of white paupers appears to be 115; that of the other class 14; although there is no doubt that the population of the latter class greatly outnumbered that of the former.

*St. Vincents.* The white population in 1825 was 1301: the other class 2824. 'We have never had,' says the Governor Sir C. Briban, 'any poor rate. The few paupers (always white) who resort hither, are supported from town funds.'

*Tobago.* The Governor, Sir F. P. Robinson, informs Lord Bathurst that 'there is no fund for assisting paupers except that of the Church (which does not amount to sixty dollars per annum) as there are no other poor people who require that kind of relief.'

*Tortola.* In 1825, the free black and colored population amounted to 607. The whites are estimated at about 300. The number of white paupers relieved appears to be 29: of the other class 4: being in proportion of four to one.

*Trinidad.* The white population is about 3,500; the other class amounts to about 15,000. No funds raised for the poor.

In short, in a population of free black and colored persons amounting to from 80,000 to 90,000, only 229 persons have received any relief whatever as paupers during the years 1821 to 1825, and these chiefly the concubines and children of destitute whites: while of



about 65,000 whites, in the same time, 1675 received relief. The proportion, therefore, of enfranchised persons receiving any kind of aid as paupers in the West Indies, is about one in 370: whereas the proportion among the whites of the West Indies is about one in forty; and in England, generally one in twelve or thirteen—in some counties, one in eight or nine.

Can any one read these statements, made by the Colonists themselves, and still think it necessary to keep the negroes in slavery, lest they should be unable to maintain themselves if free? There is clearly much more reason, on this ground, for reducing the poor whites, both in the West Indies and in England, to slavery, than for retaining the negroes in that state.

It is to be regretted that among the Parliamentary papers there are no returns of the comparative number of convicted criminals in the enfranchised and the white population, except one from Jamaica. As Jamaica, however, contains as large a population as that of all the rest of the West India Colonies united; this one will probably afford a tolerably fair estimate of the comparative quantity of crime in the two classes throughout the West Indies. The enfranchised inhabitants of Jamaica are considerably more numerous than the whites: and yet by a return from several of its parishes, ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in 1815, (No. 478,) it appears that the proportion of criminal convictions of whites and of enfranchised persons was as twenty-four of the former to eight of the latter.

Incontestable testimony, both public and private, has been given to the good conduct of the freed black and the colored people in many of the colonies. Mr. Steele, a considerable land and slave proprietor, in his answers to the queries of Governor Parry, gives the following account of the freed people in Barbadoes. 'It is in general obvious to any person of observation, that free negroes and mulattoes must apply themselves to some kind of industry, as they are never seen begging, either males or females; whereas the Island in general is pestered with white beggars of both sexes and of all ages, covered only with filthy rags; while the free negroes and mulattoes are well clothed, and appear to be well fed. Many of the men work at the various trades of smiths, carpenters and masons; and serve as militia tenants, and cultivate their tenements industriously. Two free black tradesmen, a mason and a carpenter, are militia tenants on the estate of this respondent, and labor on their tenements with their own hands, living with sobriety and good order. Several others rent small parcels of land in this neighborhood, and some of them by their industry have been able to purchase little freeholds, and build good habitations on them.'

Dr. Dickson, private Secretary to the late

Honorable Edward Hay, Governor of Barbadoes, says of the same people, 'Of one thing I am as certain, as any man can be of a future event; that the generally peaceable, sober, industrious, and even sensible people of the free colored class in Barbadoes, about 5,000 in number, (he is speaking both of free blacks and mulattoes,) would thankfully receive and endeavor to merit any privilege which might be conferred on them. Above six-and-twenty years ago, I publicly declared my good opinion of them, which has since been corroborated by Mr. Steele and General Tottenham, and still more by their own general good conduct.'

Mr. Bickell, a clergyman of the Church of England, who lived six years in Jamaica, says, 'I am well aware it has been asserted that nothing but coercion can induce a negro to labor more than barely to raise enough for his subsistence. This is extremely erroneous: witness the great number of free blacks in the towns of Jamaica: in Kingston, they are most of them good mechanics, and work as regularly and as hard as white men in this country (England.) They also conduct themselves as well, can read and write many of them, and are more respectably clad than white men of the same class in England. In Port Royal, just the same; they are industrious and intelligent, and several of them have more, much more religion, than the low white men there, who affect to despise them. They are very anxious to get their children educated, and in Kingston, Spanish-Town, Port-Royal, and other towns, most of the free children can read and write. In Kingston, the church is thronged every Sunday morning, principally by free people of color and free blacks. There is but one church: on this account, the dissenters have four or five places of worship. The means by which some of these chapels were built, redound very much to the credit of the free people of color, free blacks and slaves of Kingston; for I was credibly informed that it was principally through the donations and subscriptions of these too much despised classes, that two of these buildings were raised.\*

In 1823, the Assembly of Grenada passed a resolution, declaring that the free colored inhabitants of these colonies were a respectable, well behaved class of the community, were possessed of considerable property, and were entitled to have their claims viewed with favor.

In 1824, when Jamaica had been disturbed for months by unfounded alarms relating to the slaves, a committee of the legislative assembly declared that 'the conduct of the freed people evinced not only zeal and alacrity, but a warm interest in the welfare of the colony, and every way identified them with those who are the most zealous promoters of its internal

\* West Indies as they are, page 16.

security.' The assembly confirmed this favorable report a few months ago, by passing a bill conferring on all free black and colored persons the same privileges, civil and political, with the white inhabitants.

In the Orders issued in 1829, by the British Government, in St. Lucia, placing all freemen of African descent upon the footing of equal rights with their white neighbors, the loyalty and good conduct of that class are distinctly acknowledged, and they are declared 'to have shown, hitherto, readiness and zeal in coming forward for the maintenance of order.' As similar Orders have been issued for Trinidad, Barbice, and the Cape of Good Hope, it may be presumed that the conduct of the free blacks and colored persons in those Colonies has likewise given satisfaction to Government.

In the South African Commercial Advertiser of the 9th of Feb. 1831, we are happy to find recorded one more of the numerous proofs which experience affords of the safety and expediency of immediate abolition.

A gentleman, (Mr. Chase) a friend of slavery, asks this question:—'Have the friends of immediate emancipation marked the conduct of the prize negroes in this colony, who have suddenly acquired liberty?' The answer to this question is promptly given as follows: 'We speak advisedly:—*three thousand Prize Negroes have received their freedom, 400 in one day*; but not the least difficulty or disorder occurred:—*servants found masters—masters hired servants; all gained homes, and at night scarcely an idler was to be seen.* In the last month, 150 were liberated under precisely similar circumstances, and with the same result. These facts are within our own observation; and to state that sudden and abrupt emancipation would create disorder and distress to those you mean to serve, is not reason; but the plea of any and all men who are adverse to emancipation.'

To this it is added that to these events the writer makes his appeal, and that they must be deemed satisfactory, until Mr. Chase 'shall have produced facts to establish the charge against the Prize Negroes, *so strongly implied* in the above quotation. Mr. Chase is respectfully challenged to produce such facts.'

No reply had appeared in any subsequent journal; and as the controversy was proceeding actively, we conclude that none could be given.

As far as it can be ascertained from the various documents which have been cited, and from others, which, from the fear of making this account too long, are not particularly referred to, it appears that in every place and time in which emancipation has been tried, *not one drop of white blood has been shed, or even endangered by it*: that it has every where greatly improved the condition of the blacks, and in most places has removed them from a state of degradation and suffering to one of respectability

and happiness. Can it, then, be justifiable on account of any vague fears of we know not what evils, to reject this just, salutary and hitherto uninjurious measure; and to cling to a system which we know by certain experience is producing crime, misery and death, during every day of its existence? Is it possible that any persons can persuade themselves that though emancipation, even when perfectly sudden and utterly unprepared for, has been harmless and beneficial wherever it has hitherto been tried; yet that if it should be legally established throughout the slave countries, and introduced into them with the most carefully considered precautions, it would be attended with the massacre of the whites and the ruin of the blacks? Those who do come to such an incomprehensible conclusion may, without self-reproach, speak, write or vote for melioration, in other words for perpetual slavery, or at least of slavery which will in all probability continue till its victims are set free either by the frightful mortality which is so rapidly diminishing their numbers, or by the strength of their own arm.

But what rational motive is there for preferring slavery to emancipation? Slavery we know kills many thousands annually in our colonies, inflicts most grievous sufferings on those whom it does not destroy, creates and nourishes every bad passion in those by whom it is administered. Emancipation, as far as we know, has not destroyed any, has not inflicted sufferings on any, has not nourished bad passions in any; and no reason has ever been advanced to make it appear probable that it would ever cause any of these evils in future. Why then should we prefer slavery to emancipation? I believe many shut their eyes, and will not see that this is, in reality, all the choice they have. They fear that some evils may attend emancipation, and under the influence of this fear, they speak, write or resolve to vote against it, without distinctly bringing the fact to their minds that they are thus supporting slavery. They resolve to vote against emancipation, but flatter themselves that they will be voting only for melioration: but the truth is, that they will be voting for slavery. They will be *creating* slavery for future years, as really as if they were at that moment establishing it for the first time. They will be voting for murder; only endeavoring to prevent the number annually destroyed from amounting to so many thousands as it does now. They will be voting for the cultivation of pride, rage, hatred, ignorance, irreligion, licentiousness and misery; only endeavoring to prevent their growth from being so luxuriant as it has hitherto been.

There are many who see the guilt of slavery, but who either from a panic fear of immediate emancipation, or from unwillingness to give too much offence to some friend or connexion, endeavor to satisfy their consciences

by declaring for melioration. I wish it were possible to induce such persons honestly to ask themselves, what reason they have for thinking that melioration will *ever* introduce emancipation. Is there any reason to suppose that the slaveholders will be more willing to set their slaves free at some future period, because they will be a little better fed, a little less worked, and a little less flogged than they are now? Will Government or the people be more desirous of procuring the freedom of the slaves when these improvements have taken place? Evidently the contrary: it is impossible that they should not be more indifferent on the subject, when they believe their sufferings to be lessened, than they are now. The majority, it is probable, will be tolerably satisfied with the improvements enacted, will flatter themselves that all is going on well, and that the slaves are gradually but steadily advancing towards freedom, if, which is still more probable, they do not altogether forget them. And even those who are the most deeply dissatisfied with such measures will almost inevitably become less anxious on the subject as time passes on: having failed in their efforts, and seeing no chance that an early repetition of them could be of any avail, they will be too ready to rest from their hopeless labors; and then the case of the poor slaves will indeed be desperate.

Let the advocates of this mode of proceeding carefully and in real earnest consider, whether ten or fifty years hence, the very same reasons or fears may not be urged against emancipation, which they now think sufficient to justify its rejection. They wish, no doubt, that the meliorating measures may improve the slaves so much as to make that step safe and advisable which they now deprecate: but we are not at liberty to act on idle wishes when the most essential interests of our fellow creatures are concerned. It is our duty to examine the subject, to inquire by what process, and with what degree of probability, any or all of the suggested improve-

ments will 'fit the slave for freedom,' as the phrase is. If, on such a careful examination, we find that there is no reason to believe that they will produce this effect, let us speak out, and either say, 'Then the slaves shall be freed now,' or let us have the courage and sincerity to say, 'Then we consent to their being slaves for ever.'

It seems too certain that melioration, so far from being the harbinger of emancipation, *is the best friend and the most powerful ally of slavery*. It is indeed the only hope of slavery, which must inevitably be soon destroyed now that its enormities are brought to light, if the timid, and the indolent, and the unthinking, and the lukewarm, and the selfish friends of the slaves, can be prevented from falling into this fatal snare.

#### VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

The Richmond Whig gives the following abstract of the law recently enacted by the Legislature of Virginia, making appropriations for the removal of the free people of color.

It appropriates the sum of eighteen thousand dollars annually for five years, to remove persons who are now free, and born and residing within the State, or their descendants, and who are willing to emigrate, to be selected from the different counties and corporations of the commonwealth, in proportion to the amount of revenue paid into the public treasury by such county or corporation; and in case there be not sufficient in such counties willing to emigrate, then the balance of the appropriation unexpended may be equitably applied to the removal of free persons of color from other counties, &c.; appoints the governor, lieutenant governor, and first and second auditors, a board of commissioners to carry the act into effect. The appropriation to be paid to the American Colonization Society, upon proof of the actual transportation to the colony at Liberia from this State, of such free persons of color, provided not more than thirty dollars shall be allowed for transporting each person above the age of ten years, and not more than twenty dollars for each person under that age. The commissioners to make an annual report of their proceedings to the general assembly.

We view with great regret this manifestation of the colonization spirit. We fear that it will lead to the persecution of the free people of color in Virginia. When it is known that the legislature has appropriated funds, it will be in vain for colored men to refuse this bounty. From what we have read of *voluntary* emigration from Virginia, it will differ from *compulsory* only in this respect: if the legislature had authorized compulsory colonization, force would have been employed by authorized officers of the State; as it is, the force will come from private citizens.

The Boston Recorder, in reference to the above appropriation, says—

'In one respect, however, if the above abstract is correct, the Virginia law is far enough from doing any honor to the wisdom, or justice, or philanthropy of its framers. Its benefits are not to extend to those who may be emancipated hereafter. It contains not one word to encourage emancipation. If any choose to give freedom to their slaves, the State gives them no aid or countenance. Perhaps we ought not to expect it; but the omission, we confess, adds greatly to the strength of our fears respecting the general management of the appropriation.'

\* Better taught we may be certain the generality of masters will take care they shall not be, if education is to lead to emancipation. A hundred and thirty years ago, a law was enacted in Jamaica, declaring that every slave ought to be educated and to receive instruction in the christian religion; and this very year it is confessed that the Act has never been carried into execution. Can any one, who does not willingly blind himself, believe that the slaveholders will be more willing to execute it when they consider education as a preparatory step to emancipation? If any one doubts what are the inclinations of the generality of slaveholders on this point, let him listen to the incontrovertible evidence of Mr. Trew, late Rector of St. Thomas in the East in Jamaica. 'Few masters,' he says, 'in Jamaica, will consent to have their slaves instructed at all, and the instruction given in ninety-nine out of one hundred cases is merely oral; the simple boon of permitting them to learn to read is withheld by their superiors.' He adds that any general attempt to teach the slaves to read would be construed into an act little short of treason.

## LEVYING ON SLAVES.

The following account is extracted from Bickell's *West Indies as they are*.

'The distress and terror among a gang of negroes, when the Marshal's Deputy, with his dogs, and other assistants, comes to levy in a large way, cannot be conceived by those who, happily for themselves, have never been spectators of such scenes, and can scarcely be described by those who have witnessed them.—I was once on a coffee mountain (staying for a few days with a brother Clergyman, who had permission to reside there) on which were about seventy or eighty negroes; the proprietor was much in debt, and was aware that one or two of his largest creditors had for some time wished to make a levy on his slaves, to pay themselves;—but by keeping his gates locked, and the fences round the dwelling-house and negro-houses in good repair, he had hitherto baffled the argus-eyed deputy and his deputies. The night after I arrived on the property, however, I was awaked about an hour before day-light, by a great noise, as of arms, with cries of women and children.—I at first scarcely knew what it was; but in a few minutes a private servant came to my window, and informed me that it was the Marshal's deputies making a levy on the negroes, and that the noise proceeded from the clashing of weapons; for some of the slaves, he said, had stoutly resisted. I then alarmed my friend, being nearer the scene of action than he was, and we determined to go out to see that no improper use was made of the tremendous power given to these Cerberuses. By the time we arrived at the negro-houses, the resistance had ceased; for the negroes being divided, had been overcome by the myrmidons of the law, they being eight or ten in number. One poor fellow, however, was being dragged along like a thief, by a fierce and horrid looking Irishman, who had been one of McGregor's freebooters, and who, when we came near, grasped his victim more tightly, and brandished his broad-sword over the poor creature, with the grin and growl of a demon; as much as to say, 'You dog, I will annihilate you and them too, if they attempt to interfere.'

Many of the men escaped from the property, and some few others secreted themselves among the coffee trees, till the party had gone off with their prey. They secured, however, ten or twelve men, and most of the women and children, amounting, in the whole, to between thirty and forty, which were huddled together on the outside of the principal fence, and presented such a heart-rending scene, as I never witnessed before, and should be very sorry ever to witness again. Some of the children had lost their mothers, and some of the mothers had been torn away from a part of their children; for some of the little urchins also escaped. One woman, in particular, had

six or seven children;—two or three of them were seized, and the others escaped—but the youngest, an infant, had been caught, and she wept aloud, and very bitterly for it, saying—'That she must give herself up, if the child were not got back; for she could not live separate from it.' There was many a bitter cry and sad lament among the women and children—for they loved their master, who was kind, and had also excellent provision-grounds for them. Two or three of the poor fellows were wounded; and I was assured, by a free-born man, who was looking after the property in the master's absence, that had the proprietor been there, there would have been sad work, very likely murder; for it was an illegal levy, and the resistance would have been desperate under their master's eye and voice.—They were tied together, or hand-cuffed, and driven off the same morning to Spanish Town gaol, a distance of twenty miles. I might here remark, that the labor is much lighter on a coffee mountain than on a sugar estate, and that the negroes are not required to be up so much at night, to pick and cure coffee, as they are to make sugar; where, therefore, they have good provision-grounds, as they had on this mountain I have been speaking of, they are much more comfortable and less harassed than on a sugar estate.'

## CHANGE OF SENTIMENT.

It is with great satisfaction that we insert the following letter from an esteemed clergyman in an adjacent State.

—, Feb. 20, 1833.

*To the Editors of the Abolitionist.*

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Having recently perused the second No. of 'THE ABOLITIONIST,' containing extracts from the Report of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society; and also a large pamphlet by Mr. Garrison, entitled '*Thoughts on African Colonization*,' I have been led into an entirely new series of reflections on the subject of slavery.

Although, for several years, I have sustained the Colonization Society, by membership, publicly advocating its claims, and taking contributions in its support; and although it is yet sustained by so many of our philanthropists of the north; with my present views of the subject, I can stand by it no longer. For a while, I was led to believe that this Society should be encouraged as a kind of senior pastor, with its new colleague, the Abolition or 'Anti-Slavery Society;' but if not altogether misled, as to the natural results of the Colonization Society, I am constrained to believe, that, although good may be accomplished by it, in behalf of those who shall enjoy its benefactions in the Colony at Liberia, it has operated, and will continue to operate, if supported, directly *against* our colored popula-

tion, both free and bond, in rendering the emancipation of the one more difficult and improbable; and the condition of the other, in America, more degraded and deplorable.

The matters of fact, now before the public, appear to me amply sufficient to produce conviction on the mind of every impartial and humane individual, who carefully surveys them, that the above conclusion, concerning African Colonization, is neither preposterous nor absurd.

As a token of sincerity, in saying what I have, and to evince my sympathies for that long suffering and exceedingly abused people, to whom the Almighty has given a skin of darker hue than our own, I here enclose \$15, for the Treasury of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, hoping thus, at least, in some degree, to expiate the injuries of my former course, and liberate myself from an apparent participation with slave dealers and their abettors, in the unparalleled wickedness of this traffic in the bodies and souls of our brethren of the human race. My name is also offered, if it may be accepted, as a life member of the Society.

Another dollar I send you, for which you will please send me a copy of your paper, '*The Abolitionist*,' for one year.

Wishing you much of that wisdom which is from above, and great success in your righteous undertaking,

I am yours, truly,

H. J.

#### A CANTERBURY TALE.

*'Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm by erecting a grammar school.'*—JACK CADE.

We scarcely know how to comment upon the disgraceful proceedings in Canterbury, which are recorded in the following letter of Mr. Benson. It appears incredible that in a Christian country, among a people who regard themselves as enlightened, the inhabitants of a single town should be found, who are desirous of withholding from any class of their fellow citizens the means of acquiring religion and knowledge. We never, till we read this letter, realized in its full measure and extent the blind and frantic prejudice against the people of color, which guides too many of those who style themselves Christians.

The idea entertained by the people of Canterbury that the establishment of a school for the education of twenty or thirty little girls would bring ruin upon their town, would be merely ludicrous if it had not produced such melancholy results. It is perfectly obvious that a flourishing boarding school must tend to enrich the place in which it is situated.

Money must be spent there, for the support of the scholars. The resort of their relations and friends to the place to visit them must also bring money to it. Such a school could not be successful without benefitting the town.

We presume that the only serious objection to the proposed institution in Canterbury, was that its pupils were to be of the African race. Is it then to be established as a principle, that every person who has African blood in his veins, is to be denied the common means of education, by the people of New-England? If not, how is the course of these misguided villagers to be justified? For no reason can be given why the people of color should not be educated, which will not apply to every other place in New-England as well as to Canterbury. Do we believe that colored men are to be made better by ignorance? or that the situation of the whites is to be improved by shutting the light of knowledge from their colored brethren? If we admit that colored people have the same right to be educated as the whites, we must admit that they have a right to be educated in some place.

Are the people of Canterbury afraid that their village will be ruined, by twenty or thirty young girls coming into it, because they are colored? If these children were to be paupers, we should not think the sensitiveness of the Canterburians so strange. But they will be the daughters of the richest and most intelligent among the colored people. It is absurd to suppose they will impose a burden on the village.

We have endeavored, but in vain, to imagine what specific evil the townsmen of Canterbury could anticipate. We can only ascribe their conduct to the workings of a deep and unrelenting prejudice against the colored people, which views with jealousy every attempt made to improve the African race among us, and wishes to drive the objects of its hatred as far as possible from its sight.

If we had found any thing deserving the name of an argument in the report of the proceedings at the Canterbury town meeting, we should have endeavored to answer it. As it is, we are satisfied with copying a scene from Shakspeare, in which the principal personages in their dislike for education, appear to have been animated with the same enlightened spirit as the leaders of Canterbury. The judicial dignity of Cade, his patient hearing of the case in hand, the fairness and candor with

which he weighed the arguments in favor of his prisoner, and the just severity of his sentence, were all successfully imitated in the deliberations of the Connecticut patriots.

*Smith.* The clerk of Chatham: he can read, and write, and cast account.

*Cade.* O monstrous!

*Smith.* We took him setting of boys' copies.

*Cade.* Here 's a villain.

*Smith.* H'as a book in his pocket with red letters in it.

*Cade.* Nay, then he is a conjurer.

*Dick.* Nay, he can make obligations, and write court hand.

*Cade.* I am sorry for 't: the man is a proper man, on mine honor; unless I find him guilty, he shall not die. \* \* \* Dost thou use to write thy name? or hast thou a mark to thyself like an honest plain dealing man?

*Clerk.* Sir, I thank God, I have been so well brought up that I can write my name.

*All.* He hath confessed: away with him; he's a villain and a traitor.

*Cade.* Away with him, I say: hang him with his pen and inkhorn about his neck.

[From the Liberator.]

PROVIDENCE, R. I. March 12th, 1833.

Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

DEAR FRIEND—You have, ere this, heard of the excitement that prevailed at Canterbury, when the intention of Miss Crandall to open a school for the education of colored females was made known to the inhabitants; and you doubtless wish to hear the result of the Town Meeting that was warned to take place on Saturday last.

I arrived at C. from Providence, just at the hour the *freemen* were assembling; and when I entered the meeting-house, found that a moderator had been chosen, and the warrant for the meeting read. On rapidly glancing my eye over the assembled multitude, I was rejoiced to recognise the faces of our friends Messrs. Buffum and May, and one or two others, who I knew were the decided friends of our cause. But my attention was soon called to a protest against the establishment of the school, signed by many of the citizens, which showed precisely the sentiments with which they regarded it. A preamble, with two resolutions annexed, was then handed to the Town Clerk by Rufus Adams, Esq. and read to the people. The preamble stated the intention of Miss Crandall to establish a school in Canterbury, for the education of young colored females, and the resolutions amounted to this, viz.—That the unqualified disapprobation of this meeting be expressed against the establishment of the above mentioned school—that we will do all in our power to prevent it—and that a committee be appointed to visit Miss Crandall to inform her of the proceedings or result of the meeting, to endeavor to convince her of the injurious consequences that would inevitably result from the introduction of colored children into the town, and to persuade her to relinquish her plans.

Many remarks were offered upon these resolutions by Andrew T. Judson, Esq. Rufus Adams, and others, wholly unworthy of a civilized, much less of an enlightened, christian community. The injury that would accrue to the town from the introduction of colored children, was represented in an awful light by Mr. Judson. He said that the state of things would be, should such a school go into operation, precisely as they now are in New-Orleans, where there is scarcely, said he, a *happy person*—that their sons and daughters would be forever ruined, and property be no longer safe. For his part, he was not willing, for the *honor* and welfare of the town, that even one corner of it should be appropriated to such a purpose. After the example which New-Haven has set, he continued, shall it be said that we cannot, that we dare not, resist? We tell these pious gentlemen, said he, turning towards Messrs. Buffum and May, that the laws *shall* be put in force. I, for one, am happy to see the Rev. Gentleman here, who has attempted to impose upon me, and seek my property, and rouse my feelings—I am happy he is here to hear me.

The feeling expressed by the citizens of New-Haven, in regard to the establishment of a College in that place for colored youth, was represented by him to be a feeling common throughout the State; that it had been said that there was one town in Connecticut that was willing that a school of this kind should be established, and that was Union. He said there were about 75 voters in Union, and a freeman of that town told him a few days since, that should Miss C. attempt to cross their line for the purpose of establishing a negro school, that every one of these voters would arrange themselves upon it, and if she gained admittance, it would not be until they were no longer able to defend themselves.

Mr. Judson farther stated that they had a law which would prevent that school from going into operation, the law that related to the introduction of foreigners—that it had been threatened that if they made use of that law, the *constitutionality* of it should be tried in the Supreme Court of the United States. Fellow citizens, let it be done. Are we to be frightened because Arthur Tappan of New York and some others are worth a few millions of dollars, and are going to use it in oppressing us? No. I know you will answer, No.

Much more was said. Yes, much more was said. Shame, shame, shame to those gentlemen who had no more honor. The character, the motives of Miss Crandall, were basely misrepresented. And you will ask, was there no one to defend her? Yes, there was *one*, one, who though he did not seem altogether to approve of the school, had moral courage enough to defend her character against the base insinuations of those who had so much to say about *foreign influence* and oppression.

That man was Mr. G. S. White, a tanner. He said the gentlemen were excited, and did not rightly consider what they were about to do—that the resolutions in themselves might be well enough, but he thought it going too far to bring up an old blue law to support them—that that law never was intended, and never could be brought to bear upon the school in question. He did not believe that such a state of things would exist as Mr. Judson had represented, if colored children were admitted into the town; for, said he, Miss Crandall is a Christian, and the evening and the morning prayer will daily ascend to the Father of mercies in their behalf, and he will vouchsafe his blessing.

Mr. White was continually interrupted by one Solomon Paine, who, whenever he attempted to defend the character of Miss C. desired the Moderator, Mr. Asahael Bacon, to call him to order: and this was promptly done. Indeed, sir, during the whole time that Mr. White was speaking, the house was in the utmost confusion:—and notwithstanding every liberty was allowed Mr. Judson and Mr. Adams, none at all was allowed him.

Miss Crandall sent in two slips of paper, requesting that Messrs. Buffum and May might be permitted to speak in her behalf. This seemed at once to arouse the feelings of the whole meeting, and Mr. Judson indignantly replied that he would not see the laws thus degraded and insulted; and if the Rev. gentleman and his associate attempted to say any thing, the law should be immediately put in force. Whether any vote was taken upon this subject, I cannot say; certain it is, that the gentlemen were not permitted to speak, and defend the cause of her who could not plead for herself. One thing was allowed—one thing was admitted—that the lady had borne an irreproachable character up to the time she first contemplated a school for colored females. Her unpardonable sin lay altogether in her wish to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of the blacks, and attempting to carry her plans into operation, without consulting them.

The votes upon the resolutions were unanimous.

Immediately after the meeting was dissolved, Mr. Judson told Mr. May to go home—that he had no right to interfere—and he did not want him there. Mr. May immediately requested to be heard—the meeting was over, and he was violating no law. A great uproar hereupon occurred;—some were for hearing him—others declared they would not. In the midst of this confusion, the voice of Andrew T. Judson, Esq. was heard at the door, ordering the people to leave the house. But he found his power was not absolute, Capt. Richard Fenner's assistance and aid notwithstanding.

Mr. May was at last enabled to proceed,

and spoke with great energy; and, I doubt not, with some effect, to about one third of the number first assembled. He soon gave way to Mr. Buffum, who commenced with defending Miss Crandall; but the door soon flew open, and about six men walked up the aisle, (the Committee, I conclude, of the house,) headed by Doctor Harris, a *life member of the Colonization Society*, who requested Messrs. Buffum and May to leave the house. The request was instantly complied with.

In short, such disgraceful proceedings I never witnessed before, and little expected to witness in the middle of the nineteenth century. The present generation may hail them as just, but the very next will execrate them. The names of those who have been most active in attempting the suppression of this school, may be honored now, but future ages will consign them to ignominy and shame.

I had hoped that, among the enlightened inhabitants of Connecticut, such a school would be hailed with joy. But I was deceived. Let not the voice of remonstrance against Southern tyranny be raised by the people of that State, for it will 'be a Gloucester at his devotions'—'it will be the devil chiding sin.'

You will doubtless ask—How does Miss Crandall bear up under such a mighty opposition? I reply—*UNMOVED*. Not a purpose of her heart is shaken—not a fear awakened within her bosom. Confident that she is pursuing the path of duty, she is determined to press on to the end. No persecution that can assail her, will alter the steadfast purpose of her soul. She has received that consolation from above, which the world can neither give nor take away.

In view of the great principles for which we are contending, I think every abolitionist will feel pledged to adopt immediate measures, if necessary, for bringing this case before the proper tribunal.

Your friend,  
HENRY E. BENSON.

#### NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

We notice with pleasure the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society at Bath in Maine, and of another at Reading in Massachusetts. They are both formed upon kindred principles with the New-England Anti-Slavery Society. The following are the officers of the Bath Society:

NATHAN WELD,	<i>President.</i>
JOHN MASTERS,	<i>Vice President.</i>
NATHANIEL SWASEY,	<i>Secretary.</i>
JOHN HAYDEN,	<i>Treasurer.</i>
DAVIS HATCH,	} <i>Counsellors.</i>
WM. V. MOSES,	
FREEMAN H. MORSE,	

☞ The Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges the receipt of FIFTEEN DOLLARS from the Rev. Henry Jones of Cabot, Vermont, to constitute him a Life Member of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.



## CHEERING NEWS!

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES. The system of oppression, which has so long been tolerated in the British Colonies, appears to be fast approaching its termination. It now scarcely admits of a question that the British ministry has determined upon the total abolition of slavery in the Colonies of the Empire. We have no room to express our feelings upon the glorious prospect. The following extract is from the London Globe of January 29th.

The West-India interest were thrown into considerable alarm yesterday by a report that it was the intention of Ministers to introduce a bill into the new Parliament for the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies. It was stated that the purport of the bill was to limit the existence of slavery in the Colonies to three years, and that it was not the intention of the government to offer any compensation to the planters or proprietors.

In consequence of these rumors, a deputation of gentlemen connected with the West-Indies waited upon Lord Grey, and had an audience of the noble Earl at the Treasury, yesterday. They requested to be informed whether it was true that it was the intention of the government to emancipate the slave population?—The answer, we understand, was in the affirmative;—and that a bill for that purpose would, on an early day, be submitted to the consideration of Parliament. It was also intimated that three years would be the period fixed for the extinction of slavery—that emancipation of the negroes would be unconditional, and that no compensation, except under special circumstances, would be allowed.

Sir Alexander Grant, who headed the deputation, inquired of the noble Premier whether it was the intention of Ministers to announce this important measure in the speech from the throne at the opening of the session. Lord Grey replied that the measure had been formally decided upon, but that he could not, without departing from the rules of courtesy, give any intimation of the sentiments which his Majesty would communicate in his address to both Houses of Parliament.

Upon its being represented to the noble Earl the probable consequence which might ensue in the colonies in case these measures were prematurely announced, his Lordship intimated that the government were prepared to meet the exigencies, and that an imposing force, consisting of 15,000 men, would forthwith be sent to the West-Indies.

This is said to be the purport of the conversation which took place, after which the deputation withdrew, and communicated the result to their friends in the city. We beg it to be understood that we make these statements upon the rumors which were generally circulated in the city yesterday among the West-India circles.

This afternoon the business of the Colonial market has been suspended by the announcement that his Majesty's ministers have made slavery a cabinet question. Report adds that slavery will be abolished in three years, and that no compensation will be given. This announcement has occasioned great agitation, and most of the West-India planters have withdrawn their sugars from sale, to await the issue of this great event.

*Jamaica.*—A new and general ferment has been occasioned in the Island of Jamaica by the publication of a royal Proclamation issued by the king of England and accompanied by a circular from the Earl of Mulgrave, the Governor, prohibiting the formation or action of any societies for the forcible removal from the Island of the Dissenting Teachers and Ministers of Religion. His Majesty declares his intention to maintain and defend the principles of religious toleration throughout all his dominions, and warns all persons not to transgress the injunctions of his Proclamation at their peril.

[For the Abolitionist.]

## YE WHO IN BONDAGE PINE.

I.

Ye who in bondage pine,  
Shut out from light divine,  
Bereft of hope;  
Whose limbs are worn with chains,  
Whose tears bedew our plains,  
Whose blood our glory stains,  
In gloom who grope:—

II.

Shout! for the hour draws nigh,  
That gives you liberty!  
And from the dust,—  
So long your vile embrace,—  
Uprising, take your place  
Among earth's noblest race,  
By right, the first!

III.

The night—the long, long night  
Of infamy and slight,  
Shame and disgrace,  
And slavery, worse than e'er  
Rome's serfs were doomed to bear,  
Bloody beyond compare—  
Recedes apace!

IV.

See! in the East breaks forth,  
Kindling the West and North,  
The glorious dawn  
Of FREEDOM's natal day,  
That shall your race repay  
For years of misery—  
Ages of scorn.

V.

For every tear of woe  
Ye've shed—for every blow  
By tyrants given;  
For all your groans and sighs  
Your agonizing cries,  
Piercing the far off skies,  
And moving Heaven:—

VI.

Impartial Providence  
A splendid recompense  
Will you insure:  
For you, wealth, station, fame,  
A proud and deathless name,  
And the world's loud acclaim,  
Time shall procure.

VII.

Lorn Africa once more,  
As proudly as of yore,  
Shall yet be seen  
Foremost of all the earth,  
In learning, beauty, worth—  
By dignity of birth  
A peerless queen!

VIII.

Speed, speed the hour, O Lord!  
Speak, and, at thy dread word,  
Fetters shall fall  
From every limb—the strong  
No more the weak shall wrong,  
But LIBERTY's sweet song  
Be sung by all!

Boston, March 20, 1833.

W. L. G.